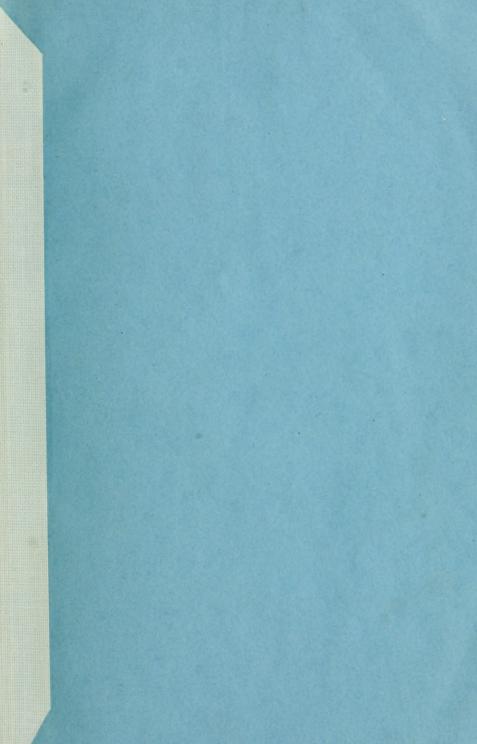
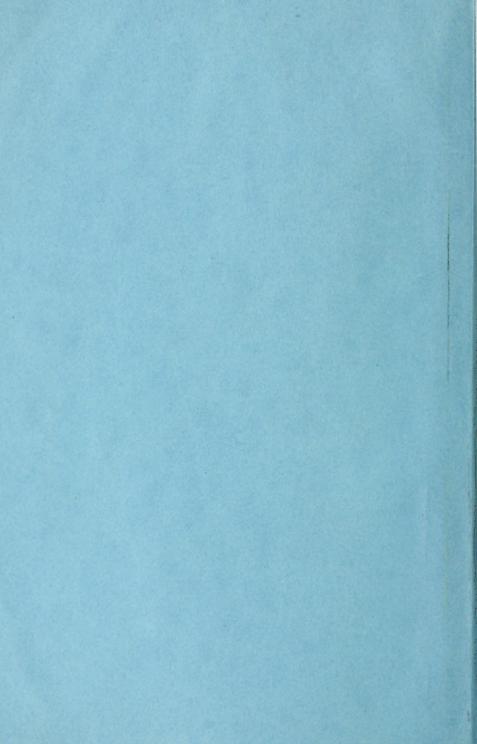


Artola, George Thomas The oldest Sanskrit fables

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GEORGE T. ARTOLA

THE OLDEST SANSKRIT FABLES

In his detailed analysis of the contents of Bhoja's Śrngāraprakāśa, Professor Raghavan discusses the definition of nidarsana in the Madras MS.1 He observes that nidarsana refers not only to didactic story (such as a fable, allegory or parable) but also to the literary works which contain them. In other words, nidarśana is both fabula and fabularium, exemplum and exemplarium. Bhoja emphasizes the didactic nature of a nidarśana by expression kāryākāryanirūpanaparam. Professor Raghavan, augmenting the list of literary nidarśana-s mentioned by Bhoja, alludes also to the Mahābhārata as a source of fables, each one of which may be called, according to Bhoja's description, a nidarśana. However, it is noteworthy that when a fable is introduced into the expository sections of the Mahābhārata the usual terms employed are either samvāda, i.e. dialogue, when the fable itself is presented as a dialogue, or puratana itihāsa, i.e. old story. In one instance the term nidarśana is actually used: it introduces the fable of the hamsa and the crow with these words, atas tvām kathaye, karna, nidarsanam idam punah (VIII. 28. 8b).

In the history of *nidarśana-s* at least three successive periods of development are observable, each of them conditioned by the function which the fables perform

¹ V. Raghavan, Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa, Madras, 1963, pp. 620-1.

in the literary works where they are found. In the earliest period, the age of the oldest parts of the Mahābhārata, they are told only incidentally and with reference to a specific situation. It is in this way that the nidarsana finds a place in literature, within the framework of a literary text. In the second period they are gathered together by compilators for the sake of religious propaganda. To this period belong the jātaka-s and other texts of stories of the Buddhists and Jaina-s and also the ākhyāyikādhyāya of the Brāhmanic sects teaching Sāmkhya. Perhaps to this period should be assigned the two nidarśana-s, Mayūra and Mārjāra, which are quoted only by Bhoja and of which we have no further knowledge. It was not until the third period that fable-writers came to regard their works as literature in their own right, as something to be read by the general public for instruction and entertainment. The fabulist of this period succeeded in transforming a series of separate fables into a unified and artistic work. The production of such a work was only possible after the fable attained status as literature. It is to this period that Bhoja refers when he mentions Pañcatantra, etc. (pañcatantrādi), by which he probably means the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadesa and the Tantropakhyana. The other works he quotes, namely Dhūrtavita and

¹ In the history of Sanskrit fable literature, with the possible doubtful exception of the Jātakamālā of Āryaśūra, there are no anthologies of separate fables comparable to the compilations (such as those of Aesop, Phædrus and Babrius) that we find in the ancient literatures of Greece and Rome.

Kuṭṭanīmata, show that he has extended the meaning of nidarśana beyond that of the didactic fable which concerns us here.

The oldest nidarśana-s of Sanskrit literature are found, as we have indicated, in the earliest Parvan-s of the Mahābhārata, in the epic narrative proper, and doubtlessly they are of sufficient interest to warrant special treatment here because of the important rôle they have in the development of this type of literature. Moreover, among the many stories which are narrated throughout the vast Mahābhārata, a distinction should be made between those which are truly nidarśana-s in Bhoja's definition and those which are merely ākhyāna-s or upākhyāna-s. Heretofore no such distinction has been made, with the result that several illustrative tales in the Mahābhārata have been categorically designated as fables, whether or not they are fables.

As Professor Raghavan correctly remarks, all animal stories are not nidarśana-s. A tale must fulfil certain requirements in order to be considered a fable. The salient features of a literary fable have been noted by Professor Stith Thompson, and more recently and in greater detail by Professor Ben Edwin Perry. The fables of the oldest portion of the Mahābhārata which are cited and analyzed below in their relation to a specific context are characterized by the following traits:

¹ Stith Thompson, The Folktale, New York, 1946, pp. 10; 218.

² Ben Edwin Perry, 'Fable', in Studium Generale, 12 (1959), pp. 17-37.

- 1. Structural pattern. A single story relating a particular action or series of actions that took place in the past through the agency of particular characters.
- 2. Ethico-didactic nature. It is narrated for the obvious purpose of teaching an ethical truth, worldly wisdom or shrewdness.
- 3. Flexible structural form. The narrative may be contained in one short sentence or in many sentences. It may be in verse or in prose, or a combination of both. All of the fables in the Mahābhārata are in verse.
- 4. Additions to the narrative itself. It may be accompanied by a promythium or an epimythium, or both. In the case of the Mahābhārata fables, the generalized or particularized moral is expressed in prefaced promythia and in recapitulating epimythia.¹

It should be noted here that the fables of the *Pañcatantra* and of the Sanskrit texts which are based on it have these same characteristics and they do not become, as Ben Perry suggests, animal tales, novelle and *Märchen.*²

¹ On the origin of the epimythium according to Perry, see *TAPA*, 71 (1940), pp. 391-419.

² Unless he means that certain fables from the *Pañcatantra* entered the oral tradition of the Indian people as *Märchen*; cf. W. Norman Brown, 'The Pañcatantra in Modern Indian Folklore', *JAOS*, 39 (1919), pp. 1-54. In the Sanskrit texts of the known recensions of the *Pañcatantra*, excepting the story of King

The publication of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata makes available now for the major Parvan-s, especially for the earlier ones, reliable texts of the nidarśana-s so that they may be studied in their most correct form. We are thus able to distinguish between those fables which always formed an integral part of the epic and those which were added at a later date to one or more of the recensions. Fables which once appeared in the Adiparvan and in the Udyogaparvan are considered later insertions and are relegated to the appendices of the BORI edition. Consequently, it is now possible to ascertain exactly which were the oldest literary fables in Sanskrit. It is also possible to assign an approximate date to several of them, a date which indicates more or less the terminus ad quem for the earliest inclusion of them in the epic.

Four animal tales are narrated in the Sabhāparvan and they have all of the features which designate them as fables. Two of them are told by Śiśupāla, and the other pair by the wise Vidura by way of opposing the civil war in which the Kuru leaders wish to engage. These nidarśana-s represent the oldest literary fables in the corpus of Sanskrit literature. Franklin Edgerton, editor of the BORI Sabhāparvan, was fortunate enough to discover a valuable clue to the dating of the text. In II. 28. 49 is found the Sanskrit equivalent of the name of the city of Roma (Romā) as well as a word

Amaraśakti and his wayward sons in the Kathāmukha, each of the stories, including the lengthy frame-stories, is a bonafide fable according to Perry's own definition of a fable. which could easily indicate the name of the city of Antioch. According to him, these must be recognized as the earliest mention in India of these names and therefore the text of the Sabhāparvan could not have been composed before these names became known in India, that is, not before the first century B.C.¹ From this we may conclude that the four nidarśana-s of the Sabhāparvan were already current by this period.

THE FABLES TOLD BY ŚIŚUPĀLA

The Case of the Hypocritical Hamsa (II. 38. 30-7)

In the Śiśupālavadha episode is found a series of verbal attacks on Bhīṣma by Śiśupāla, the rājā of Cedi. The latter accuses the warrior of being an expounder of false dharma and he warns him that he will be killed by his own kinsmen just as the old haṃsa was killed by the other birds who trusted him. This warning is expressed in the promythium (verse 28b):

हंसवत् त्वमपीदानीं ज्ञातिभ्यः प्राप्नुया वधम् ।

The same admonition is similarly stated in the epimythium (verse 38), where andaja (egg-born) refers to the hamsa:

> ते त्वां हंससधर्माणमपीमे वसुधाधिपाः। निहन्युर्भीष्म संक्रद्धाः पक्षिणस्तमिवाण्डजम् ॥ ३८॥

¹ Cf. JAOS, 58 (1938), pp. 262-5.

For convenience the text of the fable is reproduced here:

वृद्धः किल ससद्रान्ते कश्चिद्धंसोऽभवत् पुरा। धर्मवागन्यथावृत्तः पक्षिणः सोऽनुशास्ति ह ॥ ३०॥ धमें चरत माधर्ममिति तस्य वचः किल । पक्षिणः शुश्रवुर्भीष्म सततं धर्मवादिनः ॥ ३१॥ अथास्य भक्ष्यमाजहः समुद्रजलचारिणः। अण्डजा भीष्म तस्यान्ये धर्मार्थमिति शुश्रम ॥ ३२ ॥ तस्य चैव समभ्याशे निक्षिप्याण्डानि सर्वशः। समुद्राम्भस्यमोदन्त चरन्तो भीष्म पक्षिणः ॥ ३३ ॥ तेषामण्डानि सर्वेषां भक्षयामास पापकत । स इंसः संप्रमत्तानामप्रमत्तः स्वकर्मणि ॥ ३४ ॥ ततः प्रक्षीयमाणेषु तेष्वण्डेष्वण्डजोऽपरः । अशङ्कत महाप्राज्ञस्तं कदाचिद ददर्श ह ॥ ३५ ॥ ततः स कथयामास दृष्टा हंसस्य किल्बिषम् । तेषां परमदु:खार्तः स पक्षी सर्वपक्षिणाम् ॥ ३६ ॥ ततः प्रत्यक्षतो दृष्टा पक्षिणस्ते समागताः । निजध्नुस्तं तदा हंसं मिध्यावृत्तं कुरुद्वह ॥ ३७ ॥

Preaching dharma but not practising it, an old hamsa is fed by other birds and into his care they leave

¹ Except for the one containing the *Bhagavadgitā*, the fascicules of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* are not sold separately. Consequently, the texts of the fables under discussion are reproduced here for the convenience of those who do not have easy access to libraries where all the fascicules are located.

their eggs. In their absence he eats their eggs until a very wise (mahāprājña) bird witnesses his evil actions and informs the others, who then kill him. We are informed at the end of the adhyāya that this nidarśana is based on a gāthā, which is cited as follows (verse 40):

अन्तरात्मिन विनिहिते रौषि पत्ररथ वितथम् । अण्डनक्षणमञ्जूचि ते कर्म वःचमतिशयते ॥ ४० ॥

This fable is, in fact, the first of a series attacking the hypocrisy of religious ascetics; cf. Bloomfield, JAOS, 44 (1924), pp. 202-42. In other tales of this type the rôle of the hypocritical ascetic is played by a jackal or a feline (tiger or cat). In the Bilāra-jātaka (I, 128), a jackal similarly pretends asceticism to beguile a troop of rats. In the Dhammaddhaja-jātaka (IV, 384) a crow takes the part of the old ham a of the Mihābhārata fable and when his wickedness is discovered the leader of the other birds strikes him on the head with his beak and he dies; cf. Richard Morris, 'Folk-Tales of India' in the Folk-lore Journal, 2 (1884), p. 304. On the basis of this version was composed the sixth story of the Thai Piśācaprakaraņa, with a slightly different dénouement: A crow saw a flock of ham a-s nesting in a large banyan tree and he schemed to eat all the young ones. Binding up his beak with a cloth he faced east and pretended to pray. He told the han a-s that he was fasting in the way of sages who eat only air. While the hamsa-s were away searching for food, the crow would remove the cloth and eat the young birds and

the eggs. The chief of the hamsa-s dispatched four birds to spy on the crow and they detected him eating the eggs and the young birds. After having been berated by them, the crow flew away; cf. Nithan Iran Rachatham, Bangkok (1962-3), I, pp. 155-7.

For additional bibliography on the *Mahābhārata* version, consult Laurits Bødker, 'Indian Animal Tales', *FFC*, 170, Helsinki (1957), no. 443, p. 53, where reference is made to motif numbers K931 and K2285 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, 6 vols., Bloomington (1955-8).

The Bird Called Bhūlinga (II. 41. 19-22a)

In his long and brutal tirade against Bhīṣma, Siśupāla quotes twice (II. 38. 17b; II. 41. 19-22a) the example of a bird called Bhūliṅga who obtains her food by picking the teeth of a lion. Although the bird advises others not to act rashly, she herself, living on the pleasure of the lion, rashly exposes herself to destruction. Bhīṣma, according to Siśupāla, is likewise dependent on the whims of princes and with the incautious advice he gives them he runs the risk of causing his own destruction. The text of this nidarśana in the BORI edition is as follows:

भूछिङ्गशकुनिर्नाम पार्श्वे हिमवतः परे । भीष्म तस्याः सदा वाचः श्रूयन्तेऽर्थविगहिंताः ॥ १९ ॥ मा साहसमितीदं सा सततं वाशते किल । साहसं चात्मनातीव चरन्ती नावबुध्यते ॥ २० ॥ सा हि मांसार्गरुं भीष्म मुखात् सिंहस्य खादतः । दन्तान्तरविरुमं यत् तदादत्तेऽल्पचेतना ॥ २१ ॥ इच्छतः सा हि सिंहस्य भीष्म जीवत्यसंशयम् ।

The moral, specifically applied to Bhīṣma, is expressed in verse 18 (promythium) and verses 22b-23 (epimythium).

The fable is indexed as no. 1076 by Bødker, op. cit., p. 106 and he refers for additional information on it to Johannes Hertel, Ausgewählte Erzählungen aus Hemacandras Pariśistaparvan, Leipzig (1908), p. 139.

In the *Tantropākhyāna* there is a fable which is only slightly similar, that of the woodpecker and tiger. The woodpecker expects to receive food from the tiger, but he is told how lucky he is to have escaped death at the hands of the tiger (cf. *Tantropākhyāna*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series no. 132, p. 27).

THE FABLES TOLD BY VIDURA

Birds with Golden Dung (II. 55. 12 and 13)

In the assembly hall, during the course of gambling, Vidura addresses the leader of the Kuru-s, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, advising him not to take advantage of the Pāṇḍava-s for the sake of material gain. In support of his advice he quotes the fable of the over-greedy king who destroyed the wild birds with the golden dung.

The BORI text and a literal English translation are given below:

हिरण्यष्ठीविनः कश्चित् पक्षिणो वनगोचरान् । गृहे किल कृतावासाल्लोभाद्राजन्नपीडयत् ॥ १२ ॥ सदोपमोज्याल्लोभान्धो हिरण्यार्थे परंतप । आयतिं च तदात्वं च उमे सद्यो व्यनाशयत् ॥ १३ ॥

'A certain person, out of greed, O king, oppressed wild birds whose excrements were of gold and who had taken up residence in his house and were thus of lasting benefit; for the sake of the gold, blinded by greed, O scorcher of foes, he destroyed both future and present gains.'

The epimythium constitutes the only statement of the moral contained in the text (verse 14):

तदात्वकामः पाण्ड्रंस्त्वं मा दुहो भरतर्षभ । मोहात्मा तप्यसे पश्चात् पक्षिहा पुरुषो यथा ॥ १४ ॥

Tales of gold-excreting animals and birds are common in Indian folk-lore and they are sometimes connected with the motif of the killing of the goose that laid the golden egg (Motif no. D876). A variant of our nidarśana has been indexed by Bødker as no. 721 (cf. op. cit., p. 75) and in his bibliography he refers, among other items, to the version contained in the Pañcatantra of Pūrṇabhadra, which may be summarized as follows:

A hunter approaches a tree on which lives a bird in whose dung gold appears. He immediately sets a trap and the bird, forgetting the danger is caught. Rather than keep the bird in his house, the hunter takes it to the king, who is delighted with the gift of the gold-giving bird. One of his counsellors, however, is sceptical and urges the king to set the bird free, since a bird of golden dung is unheard of. The liberated bird, perched on the lofty arch of the doorway, excretes his golden dung and declares how foolish were he and the hunter and the king and his counsellor.¹

Bødker fails to mention another variant of the fable which appears in the *Tantropākhyāna* and which concerns a king who had leprosy and the *jīvaṃjīvaka*-bird that cured him. The text of the fable has been reproduced in *ALB*, 29 (1965), pp. 47-8, and an English translation follows on pages 69-71.

The Goat and the Knife (II. 59. 8)

In his discourse to Duryodhana, Vidura urges him not to make enemies of the Pāṇḍava-s by using harsh words that will pierce the very heart of his foes and by being a victim of his own stupidity, as in the case of the goat and the knife (ajakṛpāṇīya).

For many years this *nidarśana* has been enigmatic because the textual readings of non-critical *Mahābhārata* editions have been faulty. Now on the basis of Edgerton's critical reconstruction it is possible to understand the Sanskrit text, which is as follows:

¹ The Sanskrit text of this fable is found in J. Hertel's edition of the *Pañcatantra of Pūrṇabhadra*, HOS, vol. 11, Cambridge, Mass., 1908, pp. 216-17.

अजो हि शस्त्रमखनत् किलैकः शस्त्रे विपन्ने पद्भिरपास्य भूमिम् । निकृत्तनं स्वस्य कण्ठस्य घोरं तद्भद् वैरं मा खनीः पाण्डुपुत्रैः ॥ ८ ॥

'When a knife was lost, a certain goat, kicking up the earth with his feet, dug up the knife [and thereby] a cruel cutting of his own throat. In like manner do not dig up enmity with the sons of Pāṇḍu.'

Although variants of this nidarśana are found in Greek and Arabic literature (cf. ZDMG, 46 [1892], pp. 737 ff.), Edgerton agrees with Pischel (cf. ZDMG, 47 [1893], pp. 86 ff.) in believing that the fable originated in India. The version contained in the Sabhāparvan must be considered the earliest literary form that it assumed. Bodker classifies the fable as no. 1168 in his list (op. cit., p. 114) and he refers to motif nos. N101 and N331 in Thompson's Motif-Index. Apparently Bødker knew the fable only through the variant in the Takkāriya-jātaka (XIII, 481), a summary of which is given by Edgerton (*JAOS*, 59 [1939], p. 366). For bibliographical references on the different misinterpretations of the text of the fable in the Sabhaparvan and on its literary history, consult Edgerton's complete article, ibid., pp. 366-8.

The Birds who Disagreed (V. 62. 6-16)

On several occasions, throughout the Udyogaparvan, Vidura continues to give advice to the Kaurava-s, especially to Duryodhana, who favours an immediate declaration of war. Vidura tries to restrain him by discoursing on the duties of kinsmen, for, he says, kinsmen should eat together and talk together but they should not quarrel. A quarrel among relatives leads only to disaster. In proof of this, he quotes the fable of the two birds who were destroyed because they disagreed with each other.

Two birds who are caught in a net by a bird-catcher rise up together and escape. The bird-catcher is confident that as soon as they quarrel among themselves they will fall to the ground and he will be able to capture them. Vidura presents the fable as one which he has previously heard on good authority, without, however, quoting a promythium. The text of the fable is as follows:

शकुनीनामिहार्थाय पाशं भूमावयोजयत् । कश्चिच्छाकुनिकस्तात पूर्वेधामिति शुश्रुम ॥ ६ ॥ तिसान् द्वौ शकुनौ बद्धौ युगपत् समपौरुषौ । तावुपादाय तं पाशं जम्मतुः खचरावुभौ ॥ ७ ॥ तौ विहायसमाकान्तौ दृष्ट्वा शाकुनिकस्तदा । अन्वधावदिनिर्विण्णो येन येन स्म गच्छतः ॥ ८ ॥ तथा तमनुधावन्तं मृगयुं शकुनार्थिनम् । आश्रमस्थो मुनिः कश्चिद् ददर्शाथ कृताहिकः ॥ ९ ॥ तावन्तिरक्षगौ शीव्रमनुयान्तं महीचरम् । श्लोकेनानेन कौरव्य पप्रच्छ स मुनिस्तदा ॥ १० ॥

विचित्रमिदमाश्चर्यं मृगहन् प्रतिभाति मे । ष्ठवमानौ हि खचरौ पदातिरनुधावसि ॥ ११ ॥

शाकुनिक उवाच।

पाशमेकमुभावेतौ सहितौ हरतो मम । यत्र वै विवदिष्येते तत्र मे वशमेष्यतः ॥ १२ ॥

विदुर उवाच।

तौ विवादमनुप्राप्तौ शकुनौ मृत्युसंधितौ । विगृह्य च सुदुर्बुद्धी पृथिव्यां संनिषेततुः ॥ १३ ॥ तौ युध्यमानौ संरब्धौ मृत्युपाशवशानुगौ । उपसृत्यापरिज्ञातो जम्राह मृगयुस्तदा ॥ १४ ॥ एवं ये ज्ञातयोऽथेषु मिथो गच्छन्ति विम्रहम् । तेऽमित्रवशमायान्ति शकुनाविव विम्रहात् ॥ १५ ॥ संभोजनं संकथनं संप्रक्षोऽथ समागमः । एतानि ज्ञातिकार्याण न विरोधः कदाचन ॥ १६ ॥

The last two verses constitute the epimythium. B\$\psi\$dker lists the fable as no. 1056 and mentions also the version of it contained in the Sammodamāna-jātaka (I, 33), referring at the same time to Benfey's discussion of it in the first volume of introduction to his translation of the Pañcatantra.\(^1\) Benfey recognized immediately

¹ T. Benfey, Pantschatantra, Fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen, Leipzig, 1859, I, p. 305.

the connection between this nidarśana and the initial episode in the frame-story of the second tantra of the Pañcatantra. In the latter version the dove-king (kapotarāja) together with his retinue of a thousand doves falls into the net of the hunter, while the crow Laghupatanaka witnesses their misfortune. In unison they carry off the net and fly into the air to the great amazement of the hunter, who, however, is sure that they will quarrel and then fall into his power. On the basis of the twelfth verse above, the author of the Pañcatantra composed the following śloka:

संहतास्तु हरन्तीमे मम जालं विहंगमाः । यदा तु विवदिष्यन्ति वशमेष्यन्ति मे तदा ॥ [II. 2]

The dénouement of the two fables differs. In the *Pañcatantra* the doves do not quarrel; they are led to safety by the dove-king. Notwithstanding, it would be difficult to deny the indebtedness of the author of the *Pañcatantra* to the *Mahābhārata* for the source of his fable. The literary form which the fable has taken in the Udyogaparvan is the earliest one of which we have knowledge. For additional variants of the tale, consult Bødker, op. cit. p. 104.

Honey on the Mountain (V. 62. 21-6)

After relating the *nidarśana* of the two birds, Vidura tells Dhṛtarāṣṭra what he witnessed on the precipice of a mountain. He had gone to a mountain in the company of some Brāhmaṇa-s and some hunters. Together they saw a quantity of honey, guarded by

venomous snakes, which, when eaten, would assure immortality. Heedless of the danger involved, the hunters attempted to obtain the honey and were killed. In the same way, Vidura tells Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Duryodhana will be killed because he wishes to enjoy without a rival the whole earth. The text of the fable follows:

वयं किरातैः सहिता गच्छामो गिरिमुत्तरम् ।
ब्राह्मणैर्देवकल्पैश्च विद्याजम्भकवातिकैः ॥ २१ ॥
कुञ्जभूतं गिरिं सर्वमिमतो गम्धमादनम् ।
दीप्यमानौषधिगणं सिद्धगम्धर्वसेवितम् ॥ २२ ॥
तत्र पश्यामहे सर्वे मधु पीतममाक्षिकम् ।
मरुप्रपाते विषमे निविष्टं कुम्भसंमितम् ॥ २३ ॥
आशीविषै रक्ष्यमाणं कुबेरदियतं मृशम् ।
यत् प्राश्य पुरुषो मत्यों अमरत्वं निगच्छति ॥ २४ ॥
अचक्षुर्लभते चक्षुर्रद्धो भवति वै युवा ।
इति ते कथयन्ति सम ब्राह्मणा जम्भसाधकाः ॥ २५ ॥
ततः किरातास्तद् दृष्टुा प्रार्थयन्तो महीपते ।
विनेशुर्विषमे तस्मिन् ससर्पे गिरिगहृरे ॥ २६ ॥

The epimythium refers specifically to the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Duryodhana:

तथैव तव पुत्रोऽयं पृथिवीमेक इच्छति । मधु पश्यति संमोहात् प्रपातं नानुपश्यति ॥ २७ ॥

The fable *Honey on the Mountain* is unique for two reasons. First, it is narrated as a personal experience

by Vidura, who generally quotes nidarśana-s as illustrative exempla from ancient sources in order to reinforce the points of nīti which he is expounding. Only in one other instance do we find in the Mahābhārata an episode concerning animals which is told by a witness of the action and which is easily convertible into a nidarśana. Drona's son, Aśvatthāman, witnesses and relates as a personal experience the destruction of the crows, who were sleeping on the branches of a banyan tree, by their natural enemy, a fierce-looking owl. This incident forms the first adhyāya of the Sauptikaparvan (BORI ed., X. 1. 34-44). On the basis of what he has seen, Aśvatthāman learns a lesson in battle-strategy, for he then hits upon the plan of slaying the Pāṇḍava-s while they are sleeping. It is this same kākolūkīya-episode which the author of the Pañcatantra has turned into the frame-story of the third tantra, where it functions as a bona fide fable. The technique of presenting a fable as a witnessed event is used extensively in the Tantropākhyāna. There a Brāhmana named Vasubhāga is mentioned constantly and consistently as the one who has seen (dṛṣṭvā) the action of the fable and as the one who cites the epimythium of each fable.

Secondly, the fable *Honey on the Mountain* appears to be the source of the following *nidarśana* entitled *The Man in the Well* and told by Vidura as an allegorical fable.

The Man in the Well (XI. 5. 2-22; XI. 6. 4-12)

As far as we can ascertain, the version of this nidarśana in the Strīparvan represents its earliest literary

form, for it has had a long history, having entered into both the Kalīla and Barlaam traditions. For its own sake as well as for its importance in universal literature the text of the fable in its critical edition deserves to be reproduced here:

अत्र ते वर्तयिष्यामि नमस्क्रत्वा स्वयंभुवे । यथा संसारगहनं वदन्ति परमर्षयः ॥ २ ॥ कश्चिन्महित संसारे वर्तमानो द्विजः किल । वनं दुर्गमनुप्राप्तो महत् कन्यादसंकुलम् ॥ ३ ॥ सिंहच्याघ्रगजाकारैरतिघोरेर्महाशनै:। समन्तात् संपरिक्षिप्तं मृत्योरपि भयपदम् ॥ ४ ॥ तदस्य दृष्ट्या हृदयमुद्वेगमगमत् परम् । अभ्युच्छ्यश्च रोग्णां वै विक्रियाश्च परंतप ॥ ५ ॥ स तद्वनं व्यनुसरन् विप्रधावन्नितस्ततः। वीक्षमाणो दिश: सर्वा: शरणं क भवेदिति ॥ ६ ॥ स तेषां छिद्रमन्विच्छन् प्रदुतो भयपीडितः। न च निर्याति वै दूरं न च तेर्विप्रयुज्यते ॥ ७ ॥ अथापश्यद वनं घोरं समन्ताद वागुरावृतम् । बाहुभ्यां संपरिष्वक्तं स्त्रिया परमघोरया ॥ ८ ॥ पञ्चशीर्षधरैनींगैः शैलैरिव समुन्नतैः। नभःस्पृशैर्महावृक्षैः परिक्षिप्तं महावनम् ॥ ९ ॥ वनमध्ये च तत्राभृददपानः समावृतः । वल्लीभिस्तृणछन्नाभिर्गृढाभिरभिसंवृतः ॥ १० ॥ पपात स द्विजस्तत्र निगूढे सलिलाशये।

विलयश्चाभवत् तसिल्लतासंतानसंकटे ॥ ११ ॥ पनसस्य यथा जातं वृन्तबद्धं महाफलम् । स तथा लम्बते तत्र ऊर्ध्वपादो ह्यधःशिराः ॥ १२ ॥ अथ तत्रापि चान्योऽस्य भूयो जात उपद्रवः। कूपवीनाहवेलायामपश्यत महागजम् ॥ १३ ॥ पडुवलं कृष्णराबलं द्विषट्कपदचारिणम् । क्रमेण परिसर्पन्तं वल्लीवृक्षसमावृतम् ॥ १४ ॥ तस्य चापि प्रशाखास् वृक्षशाखावलम्बनः। नानारूपा मधुकरा घोररूपा भयावहाः। आसते मधु संभृत्य पूर्वमेव निकेतजाः ॥ १५॥ भूयो भूयः समीहन्ते मधूनि भरतर्पम । स्वादनीयानि भूतानां न यैर्बालोऽपि तृप्यते ॥ १६ ॥ तेषां मधूनां बहुधा धारा प्रस्नवते सदा। तां लम्बमानः स पुमान् धारां पिबति सर्वदा । न चास्य तृष्णा विरता पिबमानस्य संकटे ॥ १७ ॥ अमीप्सित च तां नित्यमतृप्तः स पुनः पुनः । न चास्य जीविते राजन् निर्वेदः समजायत ॥ १८॥ तत्रैव च मनुष्यस्य जीविताशा प्रतिष्ठिता। कृष्णाः श्वेताश्च तं वृक्षं कुट्टयन्ति सा मूषकाः ॥ १९ ॥ व्यालैश्च वनदुर्गान्ते स्त्रिया च परमोग्रया। कूपाधस्ताच नागेन वीनाहे कुञ्जरेण च ॥ २०॥ वृक्षप्रपाताच भयं मूषकेभ्यश्च पञ्चमम् । मधुलोमान्मधुकरैः षष्ठमाहुर्महद्भयम् ॥ २१ ॥

एवं स वसते तत्र क्षिप्तः संसारसागरे । न चैव जीविताशायां निवेद्मुपगच्छति ॥ २२ ॥

Upon comparing the two nidarśana-s we note that the latter, The Man in the Well, is a much expanded version of the former, Honey on the Mountain. The precipice of the mountain has become a well (udapāna; kūpa) with more dangers described in greater detail. The greed of the hunters has been changed into the consolation and pleasure the Brahmana gets from drinking the honey. The death of the hunters is inevitable; the Brāhmana, on the other hand, does not go to despair (na . . . nirvedam upagacchati) but always has hope of sustaining his life. The more numerous details in The Man in the Well lend themselves to an allegorical interpretation of the samsāracakra, that is, the wheel of the cycle of rebirths. Vidura explains the simile (upamā) in the following verses, the last of which is the epimythium:

उपमानमिदं राजन् मोक्षिविद्धिरुदाहृतम् ।
सुगतिं विन्दते येन परलोकेषु मानवः ॥ ४ ॥
यत्तदुच्यति कान्तारं महत् संसार एव सः ।
वनं दुर्गे हि यत्त्वेतत् संसारगहनं हि तत् ॥ ५ ॥
ये च ते कथिता व्याला व्याधयस्ते प्रकीर्तिताः ।
या सा नारी बृहत्काया अधितिष्ठति तत्र वै ।
तामाहुस्तु जरां प्राज्ञा वर्णरूपविनाशिनीम् ॥ ६ ॥
यस्तत्र कूपो नृपते स तु देहः शरीरिणाम् ।

यस्तत्र वसतेऽधस्तान्महाहिः कारु एव सः । अन्तकः सर्वभूतानां देहिनां सर्वहार्यसौ ॥ ७ ॥ कूपमध्ये च या जाता वल्ली यत्र स मानवः । प्रताने रुम्बते सा तु जीविताशा शरीरिणाम् ॥ ८ ॥ स यस्तु कूपवीनाहे तं वृक्षं परिसर्पति । पडुक्तः कुन्नरो राजन् स तु संवत्सरः स्मृतः । मुखानि ऋतवो मासाः पादा द्वादश कीर्तिताः ॥ ९ ॥ ये तु वृक्षं निकृन्तन्ति मूषकाः सततोश्थिताः । राज्यहानि तु तान्याहुर्भूतानां परिचिन्तकाः । ये ते मधुकरास्तत्र कामास्ते परिकीर्तिताः ॥ १० ॥ यास्तु ता बहुशो धाराः स्रवन्ति मधुनिस्रवम् । तांस्तु कामरसान् विद्याद् यत्र मज्जन्ति मानवाः ॥ ११ ॥ एवं संसारचक्रस्य परिवृत्तिं स्म ये विदुः । ते वै संसारचक्रस्य पाशांश्छिन्दन्ति वै बुधाः ॥ १२ ॥

Winternitz has discussed The Man in the Well at length in his Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, Leipzig (1908), I, pp. 351-2. From what he says there it is evident that the bibliography of this nidarśana is extensive. Here it need be increased by but a few new items which have appeared since the publication of Kuhn's exhaustive study 1 and the contributions of Jacobs 2

¹ E. Kuhn, 'Der Mann im Brunnen', in Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk, Stuttgart, 1888, pp. 68-76; supplemented by his Barlaam und Joasaph. Eine bibliographisch-literargeschichtliche Studie, Munich, 1893, pp. 76-7.

² J. Jacobs, Barlaam and Josaphat. English Lives of Buddha, London, 1896, Introduction, pp. lxx-lxxvii; cxi-cxiii.

and Chauvin.¹ Thompson classifies the motif as no. J861.1 (Consoled by a drop of honey), and he refers only to literary treatments since the fable has not been found in oral tradition. The oldest written text (13th century) of a somewhat modified form of the fable is contained in Arabic MS. no. 4095 of the Kalīla wa-Dimna of Ibn al-Muqaffac in the Ayasofya Library in Istanbul.² This MS. was published in a deluxe edition in Cairo in 1941. A French translation of the text is that of André Miquel, Paris, 1957.

In connection with the appearance of the fable in the Kalīla and its Pahlavi source, it is worth noting here that it is preceded by a technical discussion of the prenatal and postnatal aspects of the life of man. Bidpai scholars have failed to see that the source of this discussion is actually to be found in the Strīparvan, in the adhyāya which comes immediately before the one which contains The Man in the Well. By modifying slightly the strictly Hindu point of view the author of the Pahlavi translation has adapted the materials of his Sanskrit source to suit his purposes.

A FABLE TOLD BY SALYA

The Hamsa and the Crow (VIII. 28. 9-54)

In the Karnaparvan are described the heroic deeds of Karna, who at one point boasts of his military

¹ V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liège, 1897-98, II (Kalīlah), p. 85; III (Barlaam), pp. 99-100.

² The MS. has been described briefly in *ALB*, 21 (1957), p. 40.

superiority over Arjuna. His charioteer named Śalya admonishes him because of his pride and tells him the nidarśana of the crow who challenged the hamsa to a flying contest. The fable probably originated as an ākhyāna and as such has returned to the folk-literature of the Indian people. Pantulu has recorded from the oral tradition of the Telugu-speaking people at least one variant; cf. IA, 26 (1897), p. 112. Thompson has indexed the fable as no. L394 (Slow flying swan lasts longer than speedy crow in flying); Bødker has classified it as no. 384 (cf. op. cit., p. 85). Neither of them has referred to the version found in the Thai Paksipakarana, which has been summarized by Crosby as follows:

'The assembled birds proceeded to put their plan into execution, pitting the swan and the crow against one another and quickly setting them loose upon the sea. The swan at once soared into the air, like the bold bird that he is. The crow, too, flew over the eddying flood, seeking to contend against the powerful swan upon the deep where there is no shelter. But his heart fails him, for he sees no place of refuge. He is toseed hither and thither by the whirling wind, far away from any bank upon which to find a footing. The swan descends and floats down the eddying tide. With feathers ruffled, he moves at his ease over the wide expanse of waters. The crow, on the contrary, is

¹ J. Crosby, 'Paksi Pakarana, A Translation of the Book of the Birds', JSS, 7 (1910), pp. 7-9.

exhausted by his efforts and can discover no shelter. Seeing the swan resting upon the deep, he himself alights upon it also. Soon a storm arises and howls around them with dreadful tumult, whilst heaving billows appear upon the raging sea. The swan rides the tempest fearlessly, but the crow is whirled around until he is on the point of sinking. Every feather on his body is drenched; almost dead, he is buffeted by the fierce waves repeatedly; choking, assailed by giddiness and nausea, he is all but drowned. Then he calls out to the swan: "Oh! excellent and courageous one, pray come to my assistance. From this moment I yield to you the victory. Have pity on me and help me." To these words of the crow the swan made due answer: "Since you have ventured on this contest with me, it is as though you were my enemy and no friend of mine. It is not meet that I should help you to no purpose. I should rather allow you to suffer the death which you merit by your presumption in challenging me. You shall drown here in the ocean." The crow replied: "If your intention is so ruthless and if you commit the mistake of leaving me to die, the birds will all suspect that you have murdered me. They will meditate evil against you and will blame you. But if you help me to escape from death, they will call you magnanimous and you will, moreover, acquire merit by your act. You will assuredly become chief among the birds, who will raise you to be their wise and prudent head." The words of the crow sounded agreeably in the ears of the golden swan, who

considered how, when an enemy has once acknowledged his fault, it is customary to pardon him. When he had thus controlled his desire for vengeance, he made merit, therefore, by coming to the relief of the crow, whom, with protecting wings outstretched, he saved from drowning. But the crow, when he had reached the shore again, puffed himself up and said angrily: "You have been deceived, swan. Your wisdom is less than mine, and you do not understand. I tricked you into conducting me to land, for my strength did not really fail me."

And then this statement is added by Crosby: This old story has been related in order to point the moral, how the feeble will deny their words and boastfully enter into rivalry with the mighty.

The Thai printed text on the basis of which Crosby made his résumé is no longer available. The fable is found in Nithan Iran Rachatham, Bangkok (1962-63), I, pp. 173-5, and there is no reason to suppose that there are any radical differences between the two Thai versions.

The nidarśana of the Karnaparvan appears to be a more elaborate one, especially with regard to the enumeration of the various types of flying-motions to which the crow alludes. The text, as it has been edited in the BORI edition, is reproduced here:

> वैश्यः किल समुद्रान्ते प्रभूतधनधान्यवान् । यज्वा दानपतिः क्षान्तः स्वकर्मस्थोऽभवच्छुचिः ॥ ९ ॥ बहुपुत्रः त्रियापत्यः सर्वभृतानुकम्पकः ।

राज्ञो धर्मप्रधानस्य राष्ट्रे वसति निर्भयः ॥ १०॥ पत्राणां तस्य बाळानां कमाराणां यशस्विनाम् । काको बहूनामभवदुच्छिष्टकृतमोजनः ॥ ११ ॥ तस्मै सदा प्रयच्छन्ति वैश्यपुत्राः कुमारकाः । मांसीदनं दिघ क्षीरं पायसं मधुसर्विषी ॥ १२ ॥ स चोच्छिष्टभुतः काको वैश्यपत्रैः कुमारकैः। सहशान पक्षिणो हप्तः श्रेयसश्चावमन्यते ॥ १३ ॥ अथ हंसाः समद्रान्ते कदाचिदमिपातिनः । गरुडस्य गतौ तुल्याश्चकाङ्गा हृष्टचेतसः ॥ १४ ॥ कुमारकास्ततो हंसान् दृष्टा काकमथाब्रुवन् । भवानेव विशिष्टो हि पतित्रभ्यो विहंगम ॥ १५ ॥ प्रतार्यमाणस्तु स तैरलपबुद्धिभिरण्डजः । तद्वच: सत्यमित्येव मौर्स्याद दर्शच मन्यते ॥ १६ ॥ तान सोऽभिपत्य जिज्ञासः क एषां श्रेष्ठभागिति । उच्छिष्टदर्पितः काको बहूनां दूरपातिनाम् ॥ १७ ॥ तेषां यं प्रवरं मेने हंसानां द्रपातिनाम्। तमाह्यत दुर्वुद्धिः पताम इति पक्षिणम् ॥ १८ ॥ तच्छ्त्वा प्राहसन् हंसा ये तत्रासन् समागताः। भाषतो बहु काकस्य बलिनः पततां वराः। इदम् चुश्च चक्राङ्गा वचः काकं विहंगमाः ॥ १९॥ वयं हंसाश्चरामेमां पृथिवीं मानसौकसः । पक्षिणां च वयं नित्यं दूरपातेन पूजिताः ॥ २० ॥ कथं नु हंसं बलिनं वज्राङ्गं दूरपातिनम्।

काको भूत्वा निपतने समाह्यसि दुर्मते। कथं त्वं पतनं काक सहास्माभिर्ववीषि तत् ॥ २१ ॥ अथ हंसवचो मृदः कुत्सयित्वा पुनः पुनः। प्रजगादोत्तरं काक: कत्थनो जातिलाघवात् ॥ २२ ॥ शतमेकं च पातानां पतितासि न संशयः। शतयोजनमेकैकं विचित्रं विविधं तथा ॥ २३ ॥ उड्डीनमवडीनं च प्रडीनं डीनमेव च। निडीनमथ संडीनं तिर्यक्चातिगतानि च ॥ २४ ॥ विडीनं परिडीनं च पराडीनं सुडीनकम् । अतिडीनं महाडीनं निडीनं परिडीनकम् ॥ २५॥ गतागतप्रतिगता बह्बीश्च निकुडीनिकाः। कर्तासि मिषतां वोऽद्य ततो द्रक्ष्यथ मे बलम् ॥ २६॥ एवमुक्ते तु काकेन प्रहस्यैको विहंगमः। उवाच हंसस्तं काकं वचनं तन्निबोध मे ॥ २७ ॥ शतमेकं च पातानां त्वं काक पतिता ध्रवम् । एकमेव तु ये पातं विदुः सर्वे विहंगमाः ॥ २८ ॥ तमहं पतिता काक नान्यं जानामि कंचन। पत त्वमपि रक्ताक्ष येन वा तेन मन्यसे ॥ २९ ॥ अथ काकाः प्रजहसुर्ये तत्रासन् समागताः। कथमेकेन पातेन हंसः पातशतं जयेत् ॥ ३० ॥ एकेनैव शतस्यैकं पातेनाभिभविष्यति । हंसस्य पतितं काको बलवानाशुविक्रमः ॥ ३१ ॥ प्रपेततः स्पर्धयाथ ततस्तौ हंसवायसौ । एकपाती च चकाङ्गः काकः पातशतेन च ॥ ३२ ॥

पेतिवानथ चक्राङ्गः पेतिवानथ वायसः। विसिस्मापयिषुः पातैराचक्षाणोऽऽत्मनः क्रियाम् ॥ ३३ ॥ अथ काकस्य चित्राणि पतितानीतराणि च । दृष्ट्रा प्रमुदिताः काका विनेद्रथ तैः स्वरैः ॥ ३४ ॥ हंसांश्चावहसन्ति सा प्रावदन्तप्रियाणि च। उत्पत्योत्पत्य च पाहुर्मुहूर्तमिति चेति च ॥ ३५ ॥ वृक्षाग्रेभ्यः स्थलेभ्यश्च निपतन्युत्पतन्ति च । कुर्वाणा विविधान् रावानाशंसन्तस्तदा जयम् ॥ ३६ ॥ हंसस्त मृदकेनैव विकान्तुमुपचकमे । प्रत्यहीयत काकाच मुहूर्तमिव मारिष ॥ ३७॥ अवमन्य रयं हंसानिदं वचनमब्रवीत् । योऽसाव्यतितो हंसः सोऽसावेव प्रहीयते ॥ ३८॥ अथ हंसः स तच्छूत्वा प्रापतत् पश्चिमां दिशम् । उपर्युपरि वेगेन सागरं वरुणालयम् ॥ ३९ ॥ ततो भी: प्राविशत् काकं तदा तत्र विचेतसम्। द्वीपद्रमानपश्यन्तं निपतन्तं श्रमान्वितम् । निपतेयं क न श्रान्त इति तस्मिञ्जलाणवे ॥ ४०॥ अविषद्धः समुद्रो हि बहुसत्त्वगणालयः। महाभूतशतोद्भासी नभसोऽपि विशिष्यते ॥ ४१ ॥ गाम्भीर्याद्धि समुद्रस्य न विशेषः कुलाधम । दिगम्बराम्भसां कर्ण समुद्रस्था हि दुर्जयाः। विदूरपातात् तोयस्य किं पुनः कर्ण वायसः ॥ ४२ ॥ अथ हंसोऽभ्यतिकम्य मुहूर्तमिति चेति च।

अवेक्षमाणस्तं काकं नाशकोट् व्यपसर्पितुम् । अतिकम्य च चक्राङ्गः काकं तं समुदेक्षत ॥ ४३ ॥ तं तथा हीयमानं च हंसो दृष्टुात्रवीदिदम् । उज्जिहीर्षुनिमज्जन्तं स्मरन् सत्पुरुषत्रतम् ॥ ४४ ॥ बहूनि पतनानि त्वमाचक्षाणो मुहुर्मुहुः । पतस्यव्याहरंश्चेदं न नो गुद्धं प्रभाषसे ॥ ४५ ॥ किं नाम पतनं काक यत् त्वं पतिस सांप्रतम् । जलं स्पृशिस पक्षाभ्यां तुण्डेन च पुनः पुनः ॥ ४६ ॥ स पक्षाभ्यां स्पृशन्तार्तस्तुण्डेन जलमणिवे । काको दृढं परिश्रान्तः सहसा निपपात ह ॥ ४७ ॥

हंस उवाच।

शतमेकं च पातानां यत् प्रभाषित वायस । नानाविधानीह पुरा तचानृतमिहाद्य ते ॥ ४८ ॥

काक उवाच।

उच्छिष्टदिपितो हंस मन्येऽऽत्मानं सुपर्णवत् । अवमन्य बहुंश्चाहं काकानन्यांश्च पक्षिणः । प्राणैहेंस प्रपद्ये त्वां द्वीपान्तं प्रापयस्व माम् ॥ ४९ ॥ यद्यहं स्वस्तिमान् हंस स्वदेशं प्राप्तुयां पुनः । न कंचिदवमन्येयमापदो मां समुद्धर ॥ ५० ॥ तमेवंबादिनं दीनं विरुपन्तमचेतनम् । काक काकेति वाशन्तं निमज्जन्तं महार्णवे ॥ ५१ ॥ तथैत्य वायसं हंसो जरुक्किनं सुदुर्दशम् । पद्भ्यामुख्सिप्य वेपन्तं पृष्ठमारोपयच्छनैः ॥ ५२ ॥ आरोप्य पृष्ठं काकं तं हंसः कर्ण विचेतसम् । आजगाम पुनर्द्वीपं स्पर्धया पेततुर्यतः ॥ ५३ ॥ संस्थाप्य तं चापि पुनः समाश्वास्य च खेचरम् । गतो यथेप्सितं देशं हंसो मन इवाशुगः ॥ ५४ ॥

A rich and virtuous merchant had many sons who fed a crow from the remnants of their meals. The crow became arrogant and haughty and considered himself to be superior to other birds. When a flock of hamsa-s flew by, the sons of the merchant assured the crow that he was superior to them. The foolish crow then challenged the leader of the hamsa-s to a flying contest, saying that he could fly by displaying one hundred and one different kinds of motion. When the race began, the hamsa flew only in one way, while the crow attempted to fly in many fancy ways. At first the hamsa remained behind but then he flew steadily westward towards the sea. Having crossed the ocean, he looked around and saw the crow exhausted and about to die. When the hamsa was called upon to save the crow he did so without hesitation, and the crow, no longer proud of his might and energy, resolved to lead a life of peace and quiet.

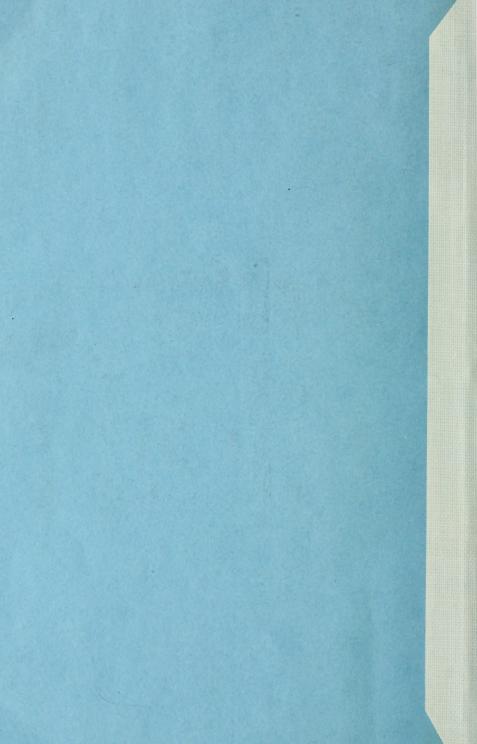
Among the fables appearing in the oldest parts of the Mahābhārata, in the epic proper, the nidarśana of the haṃsa and the crow is the most extensive. The fable of the jackal and his rivals in the Ādiparvan and that of the cat and mouse in the Udyogaparvan, it must be admitted, are of comparable length, but they

are rightly considered by the editors of the BORI edition to be later interpolations. The fables of the Śāntiparvan, more specifically in the Rājadharmānu-śāsana and Āpaddharma sections, are likewise lengthy, with but few exceptions. Since the Śāntiparvan does not, strictly speaking, belong to the epic narrative, the fables found there are doubtless of a later date and consequently they have been excluded from the present discussion. They are of sufficient interest, however, to form the subject of a future study.

ABBREVIATIONS

ALB	Adyar Library Bulletin
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JSS	Journal of the Siam Society
TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
BORI	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
FFC	Folk Fellows Communications
IA	Indian Antiquary





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Artola, George Thomas
The oldest Sanskrit fables



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